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Evaluation of Hannah Arendt's Concepts of World Citizenship-Love of the World Through the Refugee Crisis

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Abstract. In this study, the 'refuge crisis', which has existed for a long time and has become an even more effective 'problem' today, will be examined. Hannah Arendt's 'Right to Have Right' and it will be discussed within the framework of their work titled 'The Human Condition'. The study first begins by reflecting the concept of 'Amor Mundi', that is, Love of the World, through the eyes of a refugee Arendt. Whether the concept of World Citizenship is successful in solving the Refugee Crisis will be discussed with Arendt. At the same time, the subtitle of the concept of World citizenship or their concepts with the same meaning will be discussed. In particular, how the 'idea of one world' was handled in Arendt will be examined. Hannah Arendt's 'Amor Mundi', that is world love theory, is an effective example in terms of 'world citizenship'. For Arendt, the concept of 'world citizenship' is important for basic human rights to work in practice, not in theory. In the last part of study, the subject of 'Refugee Crisis/Foreigner' will be discussed. The main issue of importance for Arendt's is the problems and exclusion of refugees. The thinker who lives a refugee life knows what exclusion and alienation mean. That's why she focused most of her work on human problems/the human condition. As can be seen in the study, within the framework of the concepts in the title, both the refugee problem, the idea of cosmopolitanism, exclusion/alienation and Human Rights will be examined closely.

Keywords. World Citizenship, Amor Mundi, Refugee Crisis, Exclusion, Alienation

Introduction

Sometimes we look for ways to love the world, and sometimes we find ways to hate it. Our fear of refugees and the reasons we seek to dislike the world all alienate us. The twentieth century is not far away, and it has been remembered as the dark century in which there were many events that humanity should not forget. Historians have called this century the century of excesses. Everything that seems impossible today happened back then. How could a thinker who witnessed such a century and moreover tried to live as a "refugee" (foreigner) defined "World Citizenship" and "Love of the World"? Especially "love of the world" seems impossible for Hannah Arendt, the 20th century thinker. Hannah Arendt is one of the political theorists of the 20th century. She has written striking works such as "Totalitarianism", "Anti-Semitism" and "The Human Condition". She has made the reader think especially about human rights and human problems. Being a German Jew, Arendt knows very well what it means to be excluded, human rights and being a refugee. He had to leave the totalitarian Nazi government and lived in countries such as the USA and France as a "migrant" in his own words and a "refugee" in the words of others.

Hannah Arendt lived from 1906 to 1975. We can say that the period he lived in was a period of violence, suffering, war, hunger and struggle. In times like these, life was hard to hold on to. Arendt feels the "desperation" that is difficult to express, but that she has experienced in human beings. Even though She is a helpless and outcast individual, she never held grudges against the world and dealt with humanity's problems. This situation, which we are trying to describe, is very simple compared to what Arendt experienced. Technological developments, violence and the evil that people do to each other have produced very different results in the world. The fact that Arendt still loves life tells many things. In the world we live in today, those who complain about everything, do not love as they are and want to change, most importantly spoil the natural, continue to patch even though they know that what they are doing is wrong, and knowing that they need to correct this wrong, others avoid correcting this situation, tells us a lot.

Arendt says that in the world we live in, people grow old with hope and despair. The thinker says that bad people lose their fear, and good people lose their hope. He is a person who tells about the pessimism of his age, but at the same time does not collapse emotionally. He is someone who sees the despair of the people of his age, but does not despair. Despite all that, Arendt appears as a believer in humanity, again criticizing but loving the world. As those who are unhappy and momentarily happy in the world we live in, we need to know Arendt's concept of "Amor Mundi". Arendt says that she is late in loving the world, but emphasizes that she has finally tasted the love of the world. He sings the same Amor Mundi to his readers. How did Arendt manage to love a rootless and homeless world? Even if he lived today, would he be able to love the world we live in? Can we be like Arendt?

The aim of the study is to discuss the general situation of excluded refugees through Arendt's idea of "World Citizenship". The importance of this work is what the world is for Arendt, what it means, and what is the source that gives hope to people. In addition, the refugee problem will be addressed with the concept of "World Citizenship" and it will be examined whether everyone has a love of the world or not. Does World Citizenship pass through Amor Mundi? Can the Refugee Problem (Crisis) be resolved with the idea of Cosmopolitanism and World Citizenship? If there is a single state idea in the whole world, will there be "exclusion"? We aimed to take a closer look at such questions in our study.

1. Amor Mundi

Hannah Arendt's work "The Human Condition", which she left us as a legacy today, is a good example in terms of understanding the concept of "World Citizenship". Before The Human Condition was even built, Arendt wrote a letter to Karl Jaspers in 1958, writing: I was really late, but lately I've started to love the world. The reason for saying these words is of course the conditions he lived in and the inhumane events that took place around him.

In French, the word "world" le monde has the meanings of collective, common and universal. In Russian, «мир» means peace (away from war, confirm), universe and home. The literature is right because - we somehow encompass the whole world. According to Arendt, we are missing what can be considered the most important thing, what does our society live with. What we forget is that people are busy, criticizing or arguing. This is exactly how we do all these processes together as a society. It seems that this issue concerns the whole world.

Arendt has two theses for the concept of World (Die Welt). "Public realm" - the social sphere, "the common" - the social, common business. For Arendt, happiness is about human dignity. He is sure that in order for a person to be happy in the world, it cannot happen by waiting for something to be done. Things like the end of the war and the solution of the country's

economic problems should not get in the way of people's happiness. Arendt honestly says she turned her back on humanity and slammed the door without looking back. However, as soon as he awoke, he respected the whole world, declared that he respected everything that moves and everything that is alive. Although she says it's too late to experience this feeling, as an adult she has finally tasted true love and is confident that anyone can do it. Arendt says that the way to accept a person is to perceive him as an opportunity. Every person has an opportunity after coming to the world. (Bibihin, 2000, bibihin.ru)

Amor Mundi- is not the love we are all used to. Staying connected to Earth is a kind of challenge and not losing hope despite all the horror. What is different is that we hug each other and do not discriminate. It is a radical critique of the common form of love that eliminates plurality and difference.

Arendt's idea of Amor Mundi is about understanding and critical thinking beyond emotion and emotion. For him, love can never be political. It is dangerous and destructive for the political sphere. Throughout his work, he explores and discusses forms of love. Eros, philia, gape, cupiditius and fraternitas. Love and politics are dangerous areas, and the more they mix, the more dangerous it will be. In *The Human Condition* in its present form, which he originally wanted to call Amor Mundi, he writes: Love is extraterrestrial and not apolitical but antipolitical and the most powerful of antipolitical forces.

Love of the world is not the same as extending equality, interest, and need to anyone else. Auden expresses love in his letter to Arendt: Charity is not love. It is true that you will forgive everything out of absolute devotion to the person you love. If love involuntarily forgives, the integrity of the offender is completely broken

So love is not forgiving – love is incapable of criticizing and courting. It only violates the integrity of what is done wrong. Arendt criticizes political love in her letter to James Baldwin. What frightens me in your article is the love news you are trying to preach. In politics, love is the other/foreigner. If you interfere with him, you will get nothing but hypocrisy.

It is love that makes all that people suffer bearable. However, if love/love enters the public sphere with commitments to justice and equality, then plurality, which is the foundation of democracy, disappears. According to Arendt, a distinction takes place between difference and its acceptance, solidarity that breeds plurality, and sympathy and equality, which seek to intensify and flatten. Baldwin's love only distracts us from politics

Loving the world and accepting it as it is and making peace with it tells us about Amor Mundi. In Arendt's own words, facing and coming to terms with what really happened is the real idea. How can we live in a world where events like the Holocaust took place? On August 6, 1955, Arendt wrote to Karl Jaspers: This time I want to bring the whole world to you. I love the world I started to love too late, too late. That's why I want to call my political theory book Amor Mundi. Amor Mundi is about the axiom in the *Human Condition*. We need to stop and look at what we're really doing. To accept the world as it is, we need to leave a place of solitude to stand aside and reflect, and this brings with it self-reflective critical thinking. So there must be a turn before we go out. Loving the world means reckoning with the world and forgiving. Sometimes we need to look at things from certain critical distances. When injustice looms, we have an impulse to act against it, but Arendt signals that we should slow down and stand aside and think about what we can do. Reconciliation is usually a form of reconciliation with oneself. Even in moments of dark loss, grief, and crisis, one has to be faithful to one's opinion. We need to give ourselves a cycle of loving the world, acting, creating, being able to live and finding a new perspective.

How did the 21st century turn into genocide? How did we end up facing the biggest refugee crisis since World War II?

Arendt's idea of Amor Mundi is not comforting at all. It refuses to find meaning and makes us admit over and over again that our questions don't have answers in the ways we want them to be. Arendt teaches us to be thinking beings as well as teaching us to love. He warns us against his emotions and impulses and asks us to hold on tightly to the world on which we step, so that we can see what's ahead, and leaves Amor Mundi as our legacy.(Hill,2017,openDemocracy)

2.World Citizenship

After the First World War, the refugee problem has become obvious. Moreover, it is not only the refugee problem, but also other citizens who are in the minority (excluded, others) as well. Other nation states, especially European countries, have seen as a solution to return the refugees to their countries and to remove the asylum seekers from their places of refuge and send them to the countries of which they are citizens. However, the crisis arose because the number of refugees and the number of unregistered refugees could not be calculated. The state-people-country triad is a system of nation-states and this triad is broken when refugees arrive. Therefore, this uneasiness of nation states comes from the fear of disruption of their existing order. This situation subsequently increased the speed of nation states to take various measures for the refugee crisis.(Yılmaz,2018,764)

This enormous world, which is rapidly changing and developing, gives people various opportunities as well as various challenges. As individuals, we build every part of society. However, in every society there are individuals who are defined as unnecessary and put into a certain category. Therefore, we can say that there are excluded people in every society. Is the idea of a "single state" a sufficient solution to avoid exclusion?

Oxfam defined the idea of world citizenship, also known as global citizenship, as follows:

- Those who have a broader perspective and define themselves as a citizen of the world
- Someone who respects and values people who are different
- Someone who has an idea of how the world system works
- He is the one who stands up to injustices
- A person who participates in international and local community work
- He is the person who stands behind his own behavior and actions.(Özden and Erbay,2018,78)

Proponents of World Citizenship see it as ethical, institutional, and inspiring. In particular, we need to emphasize the awareness that our responsibilities are not limited to our own citizens (at least), that they include all modern individuals, and that we need to understand international as well as local. This idea embarks on efforts to improve the world that people live and share in common. The idea of World Citizenship is by no means a new idea, we can even trace it back to two thousand years ago. Most of the Stoics, such as Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius in the first two centuries AD, defined themselves as "citizens of the world".(Attfield,2018,13)

Immanuel Kant (18th century) applied the categorical imperative to treat individuals as ends, never as means, to the tasks of individuals. These duties embody cultural and moral values. Kant states that individuals from each state are indebted to foreigners and have to fulfill the duty of hospitality. Kant revives the Stoics' idea of the "cosmopolitan". According to Jaspers, the philosophical basis of human solidarity is unlimited communication. Such

approaches have provided a response to those who criticize the claim that Enlightenment-based cosmopolitanism is only a Western ideology or a Eurocentric form.

The idea of World Citizenship has always had an ethical aspect. Those who consider themselves to be citizens of the world feel an obligation to all members of humanity. (Attfield, 2018, 16)

People who were not accepted and assimilated from anywhere, "homeless" and those who lost and had to lose their state, "homeless" were increasing day by day. Arendt defines this group of people as unjust. Arendt defines the unjust as follows:

The reason they are in bad shape is not that they are not equal before the law, but that there should be no laws for them. Not their crush, no one wants to crush them anyway. They are in constant danger throughout their lives and if they continue to be "unnecessary", if no one takes care of them, then they will be in real danger. (Yılmaz, 766, 2018)

Outside of the civic cluster, they lack, as Arendt says, the enormous equalization that comes with being a citizen of a particular country and that obligation. They become members of the human race as they are animals and not allowed to live in this world by humans. These are people who are not members of any political community. This is not just for refugees. According to Arendt, refugees are removed from the public sphere and imprisoned in the private sphere. In order to become a member, they must exist as an individual in the public sphere (social sphere). (Yılmaz, 767, 2018)

Hannah Arendt had the opportunity to make a philosophical assessment in the light of the Nazi and Stalinist Holocaust events. Starting from the Holocaust, he emphasizes that in nation states, violence ceased to be a tool and became an end. The Arendtian approach is not easy to understand, but we need to look at the concepts of state and citizenship to try to understand it. The status of the individual in international law was laid down in the 1933 Montevideo Convention. As a result of the status granted by the state, the emergence of the importance of citizenship was supported by a legal dimension and the privileges of citizenship were put forward. Ease of access among friendly states and the opportunity to participate in the local elections of the country of which he is a citizen can be given as examples.

Under the powers granted by international law, the rights and obligations of the citizen have emerged. State and citizen connection is important for each state. Likewise, this situation helps him to draw a sharp boundary between himself and the outside world. In the 17th century Westphalia Peace Treaty, the "state" was given as an unrivaled actor and as a newly emerged issue in the international community. However, when there is no state, when the individual needs defense and protection the most, in short, when he is stateless, the importance of international law emerges when the legal relationship between the state and the citizen is broken. (Şeker and Ökmen, 87, 2014)

Until the early 1900s, Statelessness was a problem and an international problem. With the First World War, the number of stateless individuals increased. The Hague Conference (1930) was adopted by very few states. This conference presented two protocols. First, if the children do not have a suitable nationality, they will take their mother's nationality. Second, the state accepts the last individual of its own nationality. The second protocol seems impossible. The Hauge Conference was not effective in solving the statelessness problem. The problem escalated further as it could not be intervened and the Second World War broke out. It was the United Nations that had to resolve this situation. In 1948, a United Nations Secretariat-General, based on the International Convention on Human Rights, published a report, and they put forward proposals by the Economic Social Council and the Human Rights Commission. The United Nations International Law Commission has prepared several legal rules to deal with the

issue of statelessness. There are five countries (Europe) that are not party to the 1954 Convention on the status of stateless persons. Many European countries do not accept citizen protection and citizenship research clauses. The European Agreement on the question of citizenship (January 2000) entered into force. This treaty aimed to protect citizens. He stated that the individual in another country should act within the framework of certain legal principles regarding citizenship.

- a. Everyone has the right to be a citizen
- b. Statelessness must be protected
- c. No individual may be arbitrarily stateless.
- d. When the concept of stateless is defined conceptually, it can be defined as belonging to a community, loss of individual fundamental rights, and lack of ability to be protected by the state. The term statelessness, Arendt says, means having no right to (recognising) any right and having no community. (Şeker and Ökmen,88,2014)

World Citizenship means having rights in the international arena. Especially at this point, Arendt's concept of the right to have rights gains importance here. The right to have rights means the rights that an individual has as a citizen. The right to have rights refers to those who do not have positive rights. According to Arendt, the problems underlying the realization of the right to have rights should definitely be examined. In other words, in such a world where nation states rule with a totalitarian regime, it is a huge problem for people to enjoy rights only in the country of which they are citizens. According to Arendt, homelessness is among the main reasons that trigger exclusion and alienation. What is important for Arendt is that the rights of the individual are also guaranteed by Human Rights outside. Whether this is possible or not is still more controversial. The issue of the right to have rights transcends the boundaries of international law through mutual agreements and agreements by sovereign states. Therefore, this thought signals us that this situation is still dangerous today.(Tekin,6,2018)

Arendt finds the theory that human rights are acquired by birth irrational. 150 years after the first Declaration of Human Rights, the importance of human rights is exemplary with the presence of hundreds of refugees and stateless people. Arendt saw this as the end of Human Rights. He sees the main reason for this as the collapse of nation states. The reason for the collapse, on the other hand, emphasizes that he sees it as the seizure of the nation-state by the nation. On the one hand, states are obliged to protect their own citizens, on the other hand, they become obliged to protect refugees. How can this paradox proceed? Does his own citizen want to have the same right as a refugee from abroad? Social exclusion and alienation already take place based on this. Nation refers to those who have the same language, race and religion, who realize a homogeneous structure, especially those who come from the same ancestry and are citizens of the state. When this is the case, the state considers itself obliged to protect this homogeneous structure. The people obey the law. It changes the unwritten rule of the state to protect everyone within the borders of the country in favor of the nation.(Heper,655,2022)

Arendt wants to see if Kant's idea of World Citizenship (World State) is a solution to the problem of exclusion, alienation and refugee. Kant adopted the idea of "World State" and talked about the necessity of unity of nations. Kant adopts that the idea of world citizenship is at the center of cosmopolitan law, but he also has conflicting prejudices in the idea of cosmopolitanism.(Şallı,2018,100-101) For Arendt, the idea of world state and cosmopolitanism is rational, but its realization is doubtful.

3. Refugee “Problem”/Foreigner

Migration brings with it many important problems with the basic values in our society, such as tax, race and crime. Migration is an issue that evokes cultural, economic and political concerns. Issues of concern: concern for the protection of public resources, concern for personal safety and distance. The issue of interstate migration agreements and uncertainties that have been going on for years is increasing even more today. We have some questions that trigger thinking about the migration process:

- Where Do Immigrants Most Prefer To Live?
- How do immigrants/refugees affect the public sector of countries?
- Do Immigrants and Refugees pay the same tax as local citizens?

We can ask these and many more questions. Immigration policies essentially include three main groups. Laws, regulations, and institutions – those that control legal immigration, those that govern human immigration admissions, and those that control illegal immigration. This task is dispersed, as migration processes were complex. Countries that cannot do this task regularly and meticulously often face a migration crisis. (Passel and Fix, 1994,2)

The concept of spatially expressed migration does not always imply a physical mobility. Migration is a social phenomenon. There are multiple definitions of migration and there are different types of migration. Individuals have had to leave their place of residence for centuries due to political, social, economic and geographical reasons. In our study, we will focus on the real refugee concept, but together with that concept, we will also look at the concepts of asylum seekers and immigrants.

First of all, we can list the countries that refugees and immigrants prefer in the first place as follows. For Example:

- United States of America
- France
- Germany
- Sweden
- England
- Canada
- Netherlands
- Austria

As a result of the researches of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, it has been written that the majority of refugees and immigrants prefer the continents of Europe, North America and Austria when choosing a settlement. Since September 11, 2001, security measures have increased on a global basis for refugees and immigrants. At this point, the Sevilla Summit (2002) is considered as an important development in order to prevent irregular migration movements. EU countries are the first places of migration for individuals who have to migrate by force.(Bascı,278,2014) Well, are EU countries happy to host refugees? Accepting refugees and immigrants has nothing to do with hospitality, so it would be a wrong statement to say that countries that do not accept immigration or have a limited number of immigrants are not hospitable at all.

An estimated 20 million people were forcibly displaced in 1944-1951. As of May 2022, 89.3 million people (UNHRC, UN Refugee Organization) have been forcibly displaced due to war, violence, conflict and inadequacy and violation of human rights. The world has become so unbearable as a result of these statistics wanting to tell us something today and hitting us from the ear. The situation is truly frightening, as the last time there were so many waves of immigration took place in the Second World War.

If we look at the historical process, we can understand why so many people had to emigrate during the Second World War. The most effective reason was that the war took place and the totalitarian regimes competed with each other and caused internal and external conflicts. When we come to the 21st century, we can give a lot of reasons. The change in the structure of nation-states in the globalizing world and the existence of factors such as resource issues with other states, war, and economic crisis trigger the migration crisis.

Let's look at who the refugees are: Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigrants are groups of people with three different statuses according to international law. Refugee; They are people who have fear due to their race, language and affiliation, not belonging to a certain social group or having a certain political thought, who leave/leave their country because of this fear and do not want to/cannot return. There are regulations in international law that protect so-called refugees and ensure their fundamental rights and obligations.(Anadolu Agency,2017,ntv.com)

Immigrants; Refugees are those who voluntarily immigrate to another country for better living conditions for geographical and economic reasons, apart from the reasons in the definition of refugees.

Asylum seekers; They are people who immigrated due to reasons in the definition of refugee, but who are in a position of asylum in the country they migrated to and who are in the "investigation" stage on the side of that country. Asylum seekers are those who do not have the chance to choose the country they go to, they only demand the right to asylum and protection.(Koç,2001,bianet.org)

Let's call it the case of the exploited; whether the aggrieved person's effort to obtain rights; Whether it's the oppressed's effort to find shelter, whatever it is, there is a migration problem and escaping from this problem is not a solution.

According to Bauman, refugees today face a new kind of "statelessness". The statelessness of refugees has reached a new level, where there can be a direction to statehood, the absence of any state authority and only spiritually. Not thought to be of any use to the place of refuge; Refugees, who had neither the intention nor the expectation of their assimilation or participation in a social sphere, were seen as embodied human waste. Wherever they go, no rational plan has been implemented about these unwanted people. The European Union has spent all its time and strength to prevent refugees from crossing borders. However, the policy of how to respond more harshly to refugees who managed to cross the border again was not lacking. Former British Home Secretary David Blunkett has threatened countries of real nationality with refugees to withhold economic aid, and insisted that states take back asylum seekers and refugees.

reveals his opinion on the matter. In Bauman's terms, they are enslaved into a physical spatial void where time is about to stand still. Being physically in a place does not mean that they belong there. The increase in the number of refugees, who have become untouchable and unthinkable in communities, has increased even more with globalization.(Baştan,2020,95)

Arendt felt and told about the situation of refugees in Nazi Germany, including herself. He defined them as people who were forced to leave their own country due to their ideas and actions, desperately seeking shelter. They have become those who have lost their homes, jobs and habits in daily life, trying to live with other people they do not know, trying to prove that they are immigrants and losing their self-confidence while doing this. According to Bauman, while refugees were experiencing these, they were brutally marginalized by the citizens of the country they came upon.

Stranger and fear of strangers is a familiar word to all of us. Fear of strangers is a creepy, black face of the human race and an annoying word. According to Sennett, a process that excludes the dissimilar and accepts us as we are when there is similarity is a way of warding off. According to Aristotle, things that people cannot control always arouse a feeling of fear in them. According to Montaigne, instead of fighting what he fears, a person tries to escape from it.

As a result of this fear of immigrants, an aggression in the public sphere and an alienation process in urbanization begins. It is common to think that the increase in the number of refugees in mega police is higher than in rural areas. Therefore, in big cities, it is common for people to act cautiously and maintain a distanced stance towards others. Building the walls of their houses higher and keeping the social circle narrow is the indispensable thought of today's people.

In fact, at this point, Donna's famous words should be reminded. According to him, each person does not form an island by himself and is a part of the whole. According to Bauman and Arendt, there is a phenomenon of disgust with the world in which a person lives. This disgust comes from the fact that the old order no longer continues. It is precisely from this feeling that people act in the public sphere. Stiegler emphasizes that in the age we live in, the only quality of man is to consume and he does not have any concerns to continue his life. People focused only on commodity consumption and lost their individuality and mental health. According to Arendt, totalitarian states towards others approach with the language of violence. In addition, totalitarian states give the status of scapegoats to refugees and the excluded and mislead people by accusing them. (From the beginning, 2020, 114)

What facilitates crimes committed as a result of discrimination, exclusion and grouping against people is the absence of any authority to which they can apply to protect their rights. (although it is not active)

Conclusion

This study covered Arendt's evaluation of the concept of World Love (World Citizenship) through the refugee crisis. We stated that the refugee crisis is one of the important problems of the 21st century and that nation states ignore this problem only by building long and strong walls. As Arendt said, one can exist in the public sphere by thinking, judging, understanding and acting. It is the nation-states that make refugees (others) be deprived of public space and become unnecessary individuals. Arendt complains about the inadequacy of Human Rights. It is not his fault that an individual is different at birth. The racial, religious and geographical exclusions were highlighted in our study.

Because of his differentness, his little voice is suppressed, and the ineffectiveness of other judgmental individuals who witness it makes this world dark. According to Arendt, nation states play a very effective role in the relationship between means-end, ruler-administered, doer-repressed. What politics does and can do today and tomorrow will only be shaped in the right direction when individuals with the ability to judge and think can say stop. The existence of public space therefore plays an active role in our lives.

Arendt makes us believe that we can escape the dark world because we have the ability to think and act.

How did Arendt love this world, having lost her two deceased friends, Hermann Broch and Waldemar Gurian? For Arendt, who continues her life as a refugee and a Jew, what could be more sacred than being human?! The concept of human rights can be nothing but an empty phrase!

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